that he is said to have converted hundreds of Liverpudlians, but also because he is known to have had at least nine children and many grandchildren. Another area that is, in my estimation, insufficiently explored in the book relates to the way in which class, race, and gender manifested in favorable ways for Quilliam. There are passing comments about his privileged status as a white man who was wealthy and educated, but these attributes need to be better considered in relation to the status he obtained during and after his life. Since Quilliam lived at the height of empire and colonialism, it is also reasonable to suspend a romanticizing of Quilliam and reflect on the extent to which he may have been engaged in an Orientalist cultural appropriation in which he embraced the leadership of Muslims as a white male redeemer. When considered alongside Quilliam's surprising devotion to Freemasonry, a cynical hypothesis might suggest that his conversion could have been about achieving an enhanced mystique in pursuit of his esoteric demagoguery. Such a conspiracy theory may be unfair, though, and indeed, *Victorian Muslim* gives quite the opposite impression of Quilliam as an inspirational, devout, and highly knowledgeable Muslim who was anti-racist and anti-Orientalist. Readers will also get the impression that Quilliam achieved respect from Muslims around the world, was passionate about defending and spreading Islam, and obsessed over contributing toward social justice issues for the benefit of all of society, particularly for the poor, orphans, and women. Quilliam was undoubtedly an eccentric and intriguing character onto whom many contemporary anxieties can be projected, and for this reason and others, *Victorian Muslim* is a valuable collection that is worthy of attention, not only by researchers of Muslims in Britain but also by those who desire a more holistic understanding of the complexity of British history and the role of Muslims within it.

Leon Moosavi
University of Liverpool
leon.moosavi@liverpool.ac.uk

Christine Grandy's study of interwar popular culture through the lens of film and fiction offers a fresh look at the way Britons reconstructed their world in the postwar moment. Grandy examines these two popular cultural forms as a means of understanding the anxieties and ideology that shaped post–World War I British society. Thoughtful and clearly argued, her *Heroes and Happy Endings* is more of a story of continuity than change. The popular films and novels she selects for consideration and assessment reinscribe the image of the male breadwinner through tropes of the hero, villain, and love interest that the war had threatened to upend.

Popular culture in films and novels of the 1920s and 1930s projected a return to normalcy rather than an easy escape from the realities of daily life (10–12). The return home of maimed and injured men from the battlefield and the uncertainties of the postwar economy put pressure on prewar heterosexual gender norms. The characterization of Britain as a war-weary nation after World War I stands up when you look at popular entertainment. Wartime audiences had little desire to be reminded of the brutal realities of the Great War. On stage, postwar theater consisted of relatively lighthearted fare. Expressionist nightmares that exposed the realities of modern war in plays like *The Silver Tassie* (1929), which had a recent London revival, did not appeal to audiences during this period. As Grandy shows, this assessment applied to popular film and novels as well. The preponderance of comedy, drama,

romance, and, to a lesser extent, crime genres reveal an attempt by the "culture industry" to reinforce social norms particularly centered on the middle classes (7, 16). British audiences, however, were looking for more than an escape from the fighting when they went to the cinema. Postwar films reflected a desire to recreate a more familiar prewar order that rivaled the harsh reality of real life depicted on the Pathé newsreel and in the mainstream press.

Britons flocked to the movie theater for both entertainment and information. Twenty million mainly middle-class and working-class viewers in Britain went to the cinema every week in 1917, and film magazines encouraged viewers to experience moviegoing as a regular part of entertainment culture. In the year 1940, over one billion people attended the cinema (20–21). Though some contemporary critics rejected film as part of a frivolous prewar culture, going to the movies became both a reflection of everyday life and a pleasure of the imagination. Part of this response came from the recognition that the experience of war had changed tastes and the cinema itself. American and British films alike fed the growing entertainment culture. Men who came back from the war needed an escape, but their own experience and the larger cultural experience of the war also challenged the movie industry to make films that reflected the needs of new kinds of male and female viewers who had known real tragedy on the battlefield and at home (38–41).

Four chapters arranged thematically around the representation of postwar social norms on film and in novels attempt to show popular culture's powerful influence in interwar Britain. Using archival sources centered on the films and novels themselves, as well as their depictions in the popular press, Grandy identifies a pattern of representation that illustrates the norms she describes. Other sources include the records of the British Board of Film Censors, or BBFC, a voluntary organization of industry experts set up to police film content, and the records of the Home Office, which performed a similar censorship function for novels. The BBFC was an industry organization financed by fees paid by producers to the film censors, and though technically a private body, it had strong ties to the government (182). A chapter dedicated to the work of these two institutions demonstrates the powerful hold the masculine normative ideal had over postwar society through their ability to regulate content and determine what audiences could see and read.

Heroes and Happy Endings makes an important contribution to the fields of popular culture and gender studies. Solidly embedded in the historical context of the interwar moment, where concerns about the economy and social stability remained paramount, Grandy traces the ways in which the power of masculine heteronormativity manifested itself in popular culture. Popular novels and films thus serve as important reflections of this particular cultural anxiety. How much film and the novel shaped this phenomenon is harder to gauge, as is the politics behind controlling what people read and watched more generally. Going to the cinema was still a relatively new phenomenon after World War I. Worries over how audiences would understand what they saw on screen topped concerns for officials, as the appendix of "Censorable items" from the BBFCs annual reports at the end of the book indicates. Censorable items ranged from the sexual inappropriate to the politically sensitive. The BBFC, for example, could censor anything that brought "into disrepute British prestige in the Empire" (224). In 1919, the Foreign Office intervened, along with the BBFC, on these very grounds regarding the showing of a popular film based on a book about the Armenian Genocide, *Ravished Armenia*, because of fears that it would negatively affect public opinion in India. This episode suggests that a broader imperial politics were also at play in addition to domestic sexual politics when it came to considerations of what the public consumed.

Postwar audiences saw and experienced their world through the unforgettable prism of the war. As Grandy shows, cultural anxieties about social and economic stability revealed themselves in the films people watched and novels they read. Producing acceptable content from the perspective of the censor allayed some fears, as did supporting films and novels that seemed to not challenge traditional values. For women, who made up the majority of moviegoers during this period, the return to normalcy had significant implications for how they

came to understand their role in society. Though Grandy does not focus on audience reception, certainly a difficult thing to glean from the archive for this period, she sees these representations as having a powerful effect. Despite women having experienced real political and economic gains during this period, contemporary problems were reimagined "in ways that maintained traditional views of gender, work and nation" (178). In the end, Britons may not have been able to turn back the clock to before the war, but they could get a glimpse of that world by going to the movies or reading a bestseller.

Michelle Tusan
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
michelle.tusan@unlv.edu

Peter Gurney's already extensive contribution to the study of consumerism in Britain is now well embedded in the historiography. It is thus unsurprising that his latest contribution to this growing field, *The Making of Consumer Culture in Modern Britain*, is comprehensive and meticulous in equal measure. His aim to describe the evolution of consumer culture in Britain over two centuries is extremely ambitious, but one that he deftly pulls off. Gurney manages to challenge the reader while providing a detailed account that is accessible to both experts and beginners to the study of consumer culture. While recent decades have seen a large influx of studies on consumer culture, Gurney's book has plenty of new and interesting things to say. It helps historians and general readers understand the changing nature of consumer culture in Britain, together with how the preferences of buyers and the marketing of products have played their part in the evolution of the marketplace in Britain.

Gurney organizes the book into three substantive sections that analyze consumerism both chronologically and thematically. It is a useful and interesting approach that sets the major changes in consumer culture in their wider context. Touching on major political developments, together with the changes in consumer practices, Gurney illustrates how both the business and political world responded to the vast changes in society and economics over the decades of the nineteenth and twentieth century. These changes produced a range of different and varied shopping experiences to meet the needs of consumers. From the development of department stores to the construction of consumer cooperatives (the so-called co-op), Gurney shows how consumption became an act of "pleasure" for consumers, while also creating a sense of inclusiveness, especially in working-class communities, through the creation of cooperative networks. Furthermore, the role of advertising, especially in gender focus and branding, was particularly significant in gaining the attention of consumers and targeting products toward certain consumer groups.

One of Gurney's key themes is the role of Americanization in the consumer marketplace. This phenomenon began with the arrival of American businessmen in Britain toward the end of the nineteenth century. Harry Gordon Selfridge was one famous example, spending £36,000 on advertising for the opening day of his London department store. He realized the importance that the press would have in gaining favorable coverage for his venture. Advertising took a new direction in British consumer culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unlike in other areas of society, where women were deemed to be at a disadvantage to their male counterparts, the new consumer culture placed women at a higher level. Gurney argues that "department store bosses often played on the idea of female